2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9



634 in the ground, the principal chiefs and mata-
661 booles requested the prince to intimate to Voona
765 and certain other chiefs, their wish that they should go to the Hapai islands: this he did; but, at the same time, gave them liberty to stop till the funeral ceremony was concluded. Voona received this intimation in a becoming manner, acknowledging the impropriety of his stay, if the people were any way jealous of his presence. The prince apologized for this step, urging the will of his people as his sole motive; and expressed, with great warmth, his wish that he who had been so long his friend and companion could still remain his associate.

765 The following day, at a general assembly of
634 the chiefs and matabooles, after the cava was
276 prepared, and the two first cups handed out,
576 the third, which, according to custom, is pre-
[553] sented to the chief who presides, was next filled; and when an attendant, as usual, declared aloud that the cup was filled, all eyes were fixed on the prince, whilst the mataboole who sat next to him exclaimed, "Give it to Finow!"—and it was accordingly handed to him, whilst he preserved an appearance of perfect unconcern at the name by which, for the
[156] first time, he was called*. And this was a matter of no small importance; for had he ap-

* See note, p. 370.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9



peared elated at this circumstance, he would have been thought a man of a weak mind, little calculated to be a supreme chief: whereas the character of such a personage should be, in their estimation, (and very rightly too,) that of superiority over the influence of petty passions, and such trifling emotions as are fit only for the vulgar tribe of mankind. As soon as all the cava was served out and drunk, Finow addressed the company to the following purport.

"Listen to me, chiefs and warriors!—If "any among you are discontented with the "present state of affairs,—now is the time to go "to Hapai; for no man shall remain at Vavaoo "with a mind discontented and wandering to "other places. I have seen with sorrow the "wide destruction occasioned by the unceasing "war carried on by the chief now lying in the "*malái*: we have indeed been doing a great "deal, but what is the result?—the land is de-"populated! it is overgrown with weeds, and "there is nobody to cultivate it: had we re-"mained peaceful, it would have been populous "still: the principal chiefs and warriors are "fallen, and we must be contented with the "society of the lower class. What madness! "is not life already too short? Is it not a noble "characteristic in a man to remain happy and "peaceful in his station? What folly then to

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9



who refuses to work and get that which will meet the legitimate demands of the teeth. 539 461

**101. Teu ke hihi kae ola:** About to cut out but gnawing. 539

This refers primarily to the coconut. A nut has been split open in order to cut the flesh out with a knife when someone greedily seizes it and chews the flesh out with his teeth, a thing befitting an animal or bad-mannered man. May be applied to a thing which is about to be carried out in a proper, decent way, but is actually done in an unseemly manner. 264 576

PRESENTING, BEGGING, KEEPING FOOD

**102. Kai pe lea:** Just eating speech. 539

Used of a man for whom there is no portion when the food presented to a chief is divided and distributed, but to whom the chief speaks. The individual thus honored by the chief will feel that he has after all some part in the ceremony although he has not received a present of food. 264 554

**103. Koe ma ka te mate:** Ashamed, but I'll die. 539

Used in the first place of begging food. What is the use of being ashamed to ask for food, seeing that if you do not get it you will die, or be very hungry. (It is very common in Tongan to say that one is *mate*, dead, of hunger, thirst, of desire for some thing, without indicating any extreme stress.) This expression is applied generally to making requests of any kind. 431 735

**104. Motu ka nae navei:** Broken but it was bound. 539

*Navei* are small cords passed through the top of a basket, especially of food, and fastened round the pole on which it is slung. These cords are not the main lashing, which is a long cord or vine passing several times round the basket and pole. The idea is that although the large lashing has been adjusted yet it is well to avoid risks by adding these auxiliary bindings. The expression has this sense of making assurance doubly sure. Sometimes the phrase is rendered, *Motu ka nae kavei*, which has the same meaning as the above except that the *kavei* is the main lashing. This, which seems to be more familiar to the younger generation of Tongans, may be applied to a mishap which has not been the effect of negligence. There has been an accident but those whose business it was to look after the matter in question evidently did their work carefully and thoroughly. 415 482 [829]

**105. Puia a kaiaji:** Sending a forager. 539

When one is sent to procure food for a party he will be the first to eat of what he has obtained. So used of one who is the first to reap the advantage of something that he has been sent to do, or to get. 156 571

**106. Ua ma kae mae ma:** Eat *ma* but be careful of *ma*. 539

*Ma* is the food made from fermented fruit. This expression indicates literally one who has a supply of *ma* of his own, but is very sparing 262 183 571

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai



family. He has an *cpi* of about ten acres, part of which he uses for gardening, part for the growing of coconuts and bananas. His income from the sale of copra and bananas is about £10 a year. His fixed expenditures for twelve months were:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Government rent for *api* | — | 8s 0d |
| Government poll-tax | — | £1 16s 0d |
| Church contributions | — | £2 0s 0d |
| Total | | £4 4s 0d |

This leaves Sesoni about £6 a year for expenditures on clothing, kerosene, soap, matches, tobacco, and extra foods for his household. The money buys very little of these extra items. But Sesoni seems to get along well enough.

A second record is that of Biukala. His household consists of four adults and five children. His is a higher standard of living because of the fact that he has come to control by inheritance and immediate renting three *api* in Pangai and one *api* in Tongatapu and has had some initiative in growing vegetables for sale to the Europeans in Neiafu. He is a young man, a graduate from the government college in Nukualofa, with definite ideas of raising his status and that of his children. In this he is a-typical. In other words, he is not the easy-going villager. He is a man with a mission in life. His budget, therefore, is not typical of the other villagers. It may be given in detail, however, to show by contrast what a high standard of living is for a Pangai household.

TABLE 8.—INCOME AND EXPENDITURE
7 months (June-December, 1938)

| Income | £ | s | d | Expenditure | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sale of copra | 6 | 3 | 0 | Poll-taxes | 1 | 8 | 0 |
| Sale of garden produce | 10 | 19 | 6 | *Api* rents | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Sale of tobacco leaf | 3 | 8 | 6 | Church gifts | 3 | 8 | 0 |
| Sale of pigs | 1 | 17 | 0 | Son's birthday feast | 3 | 7 | 6 |
| | | | | Food, seeds, clothing | 2 | 19 | 3 |
| | | | | Christmas gift to mother | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | £22 | 8 | 0 | Total | £17 | 2 | 9 |
| | | | | Cash balance | £5 | 5 | 3 |

to mark what is now a non-critical period by feasting and gift-giving. Presumably the boy may still suffer from anxiety over the operation, but he is after all, only a boy. Neither parents nor village see any necessity to concern themselves greatly with the emotions of a mere boy when they are experienced out of sight and out of sound in a distant hospital. The situation has obviously changed greatly from the time when surgery was carried out in the village without the aid of anaesthetics, sterile instruments and specific operator's skill.

## COURTSHIP

The average village man's idea of a woman who is beautiful emphasises first of all the fact that she should be fat in every part of her body. Her eyes should be far apart. There should be a slight prognathism and everted lips. Skin should be a medium brown, not too fair and not too dark. The feet should be large and well formed. Conversely, a woman whose skin is very dark or one whose bust is large but whose buttocks and feet are small, is looked upon with small favour by the idealists. Naturally, few women in Pangai measure up to the ideal. One who chooses a mate or begins a courtship must overlook much and weigh the preferential value of skin colour against size of buttocks or feet.

The mother exercises considerable supervision over her nubile daughter. An industrious girl, well chaperoned, is likely to make a good marriage. An unchaperoned girl who shows signs of laziness, who is on a familiar joking-relationship with many men, or who visits much about the village instead of staying home quietly working, may be attractive to some young men, but the elders see to it that no easy marriage will be arranged. The model mother will not allow her daughter to walk unescorted at night. Our housegirl's home was barely 200 feet from our house, but the girl's mother would always send a younger sister or brother to escort the girl home after dark from one house to the other.

It is difficult to judge whether pre-marital sex-relations are common among the young people of the village. All informants were positive that with the exception of two doubtful cases, all the young unmarried girls in the village

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai



733
276 sleepy during the day. Instead of working in his garden,
[735] the addict spends his daylight hours asleep. Poverty and a
lack of food are characteristic of his household. Those who
[461] are recognized as the hardest workers in the village are
conspicuously those who rarely drink *kava* in the evenings
or who are content with two or three rounds only of *kava*
before going to sleep.

276 Domestic trouble arises because the drinker generally
593 deserts his household to drink elsewhere. This is illustrated
733 by the case of the heaviest drinker in the village. He drinks
*kava* several times daily. His own house is small and un-
suitable for *kava*-parties. It is also very close to the bush
[716] that encircles the village and close therefore to the numerous
and malevolent evil spirits *(tevolo)* that haunt the bush
after nightfall. This makes the house a dangerous place in
which to leave a wife and small children without adult male
protection. Hence the addict's wife is continually angry
because of this desertion. There have been frequent domestic
brawls and the wife has occasionally deserted her husband.
Moreover, this addict rarely works in his gardens. He leaves
[156] gardening to his aged father who is recognized as definitely
[181] "queer" by the villagers (the father shuns company, is
given to long solitary walks, talks softly to himself: the
very antithesis of the sociability-loving Tongan). Much of
[434] the money the addict obtains from his school-teaching he
[432] spends buying *kava*-root at the store. Thus the household
is poor in every respect.

276 This addict is an extreme case of *kava*-craving. Village
733 opinion does not of course consider the fact that he may have
become an addict because of certain personality difficulties
which have of themselves made his domestic life unsatis-
factory. This would be a somewhat sophisticated view for
the villager to try to comprehend. Hence he simply takes it
for granted that excessive *kava*-drinking is the cause of all
troubles. His conviction is perhaps rendered more certain
[293] by noticing the results when some of the more daring young
men have emptied a bottle of whisky into a full *kava* bowl
and then swallowed the resulting concoction. (There are
[671] very stringent, enforced laws against drinking the white
man's liquor or beer—only very occasionally could this
happen.)

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



576 A more delicate, if less important, question was that of the marks of respect to be paid to nobles. The Tongans still cling tenaciously to certain ancient forms of respect, such as the unturbaned head and the cinctured waist in the precincts of a village. To traverse Nukualofa without a girdle would be a greater solecism than to walk the length of Piccadilly hatless and in one's shirt-sleeves. But the more servile forms of homage to chiefs—squatting at the roadside or performing *mocmoc*—were so inconvenient that by the king's order a *quasi*-military salute 576 was generally substituted. In Polynesia, to raise your- 492 self physically above another is to lay claim to a moral superiority over him, and the introduction of horses [156] brought a new difficulty. To sit elevated above the world on the back of a horse tends to make Tongans cheeky, just as in Fiji the consciousness of having long hair makes the most respectful man insolent to his 576 superiors. Many years before, a law had been enacted 492 compelling commoners to dismount when they passed a 565 member of the Upper House, or rode past his house. The Europeans laid the blame of this enactment at Mr Baker's door; but, if I may judge from the savage tenacity with which the nobles clung to this obnoxious section, it is more probable that the law was passed in spite of him. Puerile as the restriction appears, let it not be forgotten that a primitive people is always ruled by outward forms; and wherever in the Pacific, and indeed elsewhere, a tribe is found who show no respect to their chiefs, there will be a people less susceptible to government and good order. Such laws, of course, always tend towards the ridiculous. A noble died, and one Jone

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



Tungi's wisdom. But the missionaries had no misgivings. They had learned the fickleness of their people by bitter experience, but in the days of their apotheosis they forgot the law of reaction. 175 797

The first cloud was no bigger than a man's hand. For some years the contributions exceeded the needs of the Church in Tonga, and the people asked that the surplus might be spent among them, instead of being swallowed up by impecunious missions in other lands. The hesitation of the Wesleyan Conference in Australia in granting this very reasonable request gave birth to a desire for ecclesiastical self-government. The ignorant but self-effacing missionaries of the early days had made way for a very different stamp of man, not less ignorant, perhaps, but far better versed in the affairs of the world. The modern missionary was not called to the post owing to any inward conviction: he took up the work as he would any other profession, and he aimed at the aggrandisement of the Church of which he was a member, rather than the ultimate good of the people committed to his care. He saw that the moving spirit of the Tongan mind was display and emulation, and he skilfully adapted it to the needs of the collection-plate. The chairman was now Mr Baker, a plausible and not over-scrupulous man, half-educated, but possessed of considerable knowledge of the world. Little by little he brought the king to look to him for advice in secular matters. The secret of his influence was the king's fear of losing his independence. Mr Baker worked upon this fear, representing England as only waiting for an opportunity to seize the country as she had done in Fiji. It was only by following his advice [181] [156] 175 797 643

154
602
166 "I would stay even if I had no job. My sister is here."

464 Although an uneducated migrant probably has more difficulty in obtaining employment, migrants with secondary education have no more difficulty than the locally-born. The migrant's prospects for employment depend, along with all Tongans, on his education and the extent and importance of his kin. Migrants tend to be less involved in agriculture because they have more difficulty in obtaining registered land. They are, therefore, slightly more active in commerce, the produce boards, in certain tertiary areas and in a miscellanea of backyard jobs which are termed part-manufacturing and processing.

156 Most migrants intend to remain in Nuku'alofa and tend to feel
{186} they belong there. The reasons for "belonging" are illuminating and
{171} should further discredit the view that Polynesians have some sort of mystic attachment to their place of birth, an attachment which supposedly outweighs more mundane considerations. "I belong to Nuku'alofa because I can support my children here", was how one informant expressed his feelings, while another in a much more sweeping statement merely said, "Nuku'alofa has everything". Belonging to
602 Nuku'alofa does not, however, mean that the migrant severs his ties with the home island. He belongs more to his family than to a place. It was the institution of the family which supported him on arrival in Nuku'alofa and, once established and part of the family chain, he now
602 assists close relations who remain on the home island. Gifts and
431 visits were exchanged by over three-quarters of those interviewed (see Table IV) and most not participating in such contact either had no
574 close relation remaining in the home island or were young people whose obligations were for the present assumed by older brothers or sisters living in Nuku'alofa. This contact is reciprocal and only stops with the death or migration of the close relations involved.

Table IV

Close Family Gifts and Visits between Islands

| | Yes | No | Not Stated |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gifts to Islands | 39 | 18 | - |
| Gifts from Islands | 31 | 24 | 2 |
| Visits to Islands | 41 | 16 | - |
| Visits from Islands | 42 | 15 | - |

Number in Sample 57

369 It is the migrant, through his kin, who maintains the closest cultural links between town and country in Tonga. As considerably more than a half of the town's population is so involved, it is not surprising that rural and peasant modes and concepts continue to flow

/30 cont./

181 177 nature (money, tools, clothing, food), besides the limited transmission of knowledge by Tongans in the village schools (partly by white persons in the colleges) and the not fully efficient health service. The only literature published in the Tongan language is purely ecclesiastical, and there is no Tongan radio service. The modern European world which, with its characteristics, its wants and objectives, is somewhat complicated, open and not amenable to simple answers even for Europeans, must always remain to a certain extent alien and unintelligible to the Tongan, not only because his disposition is, in part, of an entirely different nature, but also because he is offered only disconnected, isolated parts [of the whole picture]. The latter probably give most Tongans the idea that "European" means first and foremost: /31/ being clean, well-to-do, knowing a lot and being able to do a lot. This is the ideal the islanders more or less consciously strive for; however, they do not do so uncritically, for by their conduct and by their words, for example, they emphasize, at least on the small islands, that they are proud of not being as attached to money as are the white people.

Besides the mass of Tongans to whom the character traits described in the preceding section apply, there is also a minority of extreme, highly Europeanized types, a few of whom may probably be best explained by the following examples:

1. Tongan T., 41 years old, the son of a chief on Tongatapu. College education there; visit to Fiji; military training in New Zealand. Regarded as matapule. (62)

62. The matapule are members of a once highly privileged noble class; in the narrower sense, attendants to a titled chief in special ceremonial services.

Was occupied at the Tonga court, among other things as chauffeur. Took a "vacation" and has been living on Nomuka for several months.

/31 cont./

157 Clothing for everyday wear khaki trousers, European shirt and white
156 tennis shoes, along with sun glasses and a sun helmet. On Sundays
177 wears gray trousers, shirt, colorful "Waikiki jacket," socks and black low shoes. Eats the customary Tongan-European diet; sleeps on a mat. T. tries to appear a "man of the world," to tower above his friends as a leader. Has not married. Goes with many girls. Has a [454] small savings account in Nuku'alofa. Says he wants to save more money in order to build a house in Nuku'alofa in the European style, to [829] furnish it and then to marry. He is contemptuous of typical Tonga work such as women's mat plaiting and tapa making, regarding these as useless occupations. T. is intelligent and gifted with a natural sense of humor. He has no firm outlook, is casual, lazy, has not worked for months, seems to have no home and takes turns living off relatives or friends to save money. Though, in view of his idleness, he leads a life similar to that of the chiefs and matapule of ancient Tonga times, his presence in the village, despite the universal Tonga kindness and hospitality, is felt to be unpleasant after a few months. T. appears to the observer as a "rootless type" who has lost raport with truly Tongan life.

2. Tongan M., 42 years old, son of a respected family on Tongatapu. College education there. Student of more than average achievement. Trained as medicine dispenser (apothecary). Much contact with white physicians. In the course of the years he has managed stations on "Eua, Lifuka and Niua Fo'ou and has treated diseases on his own. In the last war a great deal of contact with English and Americans. Has read several English books and many English magazines. Has worked as "dispenser " /cited in English/ on Nomuka for three years, and cultivates his planting, usually with slight expenditure of work. After the death of his first wife, married his former housekeeper and now has eleven children. For everyday, wears the Tonga

/31 cont./

156 vala and shirt (both mostly of blue cotton twill), for Sunday, a
157 vala (often of flowered cotton), a white shirt, and for church a
177 ta'vala, tie and European jacket. Always goes barefoot. Eats customary /32/ Tongan-European food; sleeps on a mat with a headrest. Is regarded as matapule. Is treated by the small congregation of his (minority) church as a chief. M. is a lay preacher, attends all church services, has his regular prayers at home and works himself up into powerful religious feelings. Keeps himself rather isolated from the inhabitants and is not actually regarded by them as a member of the village community. M. makes an effort, contrary to Tongan custom, to pay for all services rendered him (with money or goods), since he wishes to have "no obligations" (which means rejection of the old village assurance of reciprocity), usually also does not help with community work in the village. Is egotistical and does not fullfil his obligations to hold certain festivals. With all the self-assurance he displays he is actually insecure and often afraid of "doing something wrong." He no longer knows many of the names of objects still in use in Tongan material culture and also has no clear conception of some of the methods of making them. M.'s inclination to laziness is intensified by his heavy set figure. By nature he is good-humored and happy, but under the influence of his life so far he has become calculating and crafty. Knowing something in many areas of European life, with many-sided interests, M. believes he understands the world of whites, but also realizes his unfortunate position by summing it up in the statement: "Our development here in Tonga is as though a man wants to climb a coconut palm, gets halfway up and can then go neither up nor down." M. wants to quit his job in two years in order to raise livestock on 'Eua and keep a small store. However, it is doubtful whether he will succeed in this since he has absolutely no specialized knowledge for the first project and, like most Tongans, he lacks

/32 cont./

156 knowledge for the first project and, like most Tongans, he lacks com-
157 pletely the ability to keep his money together. To the observer he
177 seems ultimately an unfortunate, mixed type.

3. Tongan S., 24 years old, born a commoner; after attending college in Tonga spent several years in New Zealand; there continued education along with practical work. Contact with partly nihilistic white intellectuals. Returns as a sharp critic. Marries the daughter of a Tongan businessman (merchant and owner of a department store) in Nuku'alofa. Moves to Nomuka and establishes a shop. S. usually dresses in long white pants and a short-sleeved white shirt, eats European food almost exclusively (this partly because of the fact that he has no planting on Nomuka and can live comfortably on the income from his shop). He is reserved and courteous, seems at once unfinished and strongly influenced by undigested foreign ideas. S. has become a convinced atheist. Is also almost passionately critical of the Tongan government which in his opinion favors the nobility and discriminates against and impedes the commoners. Works circumspectly and has his head full of great plans for the future (for example, wants to go into canned fish production, wrote to USA). Is generous and, outside his business activity in which he calculates sharply, seems to adhere to the old Tongan custom of "giving without direct return service." After having at first a rather isolated position in the village, he succeeded, after some months, in winning over a few new Tongans with his tennis playing. The village community has not yet acknowledged him as its own (for example, no invitation to larger festivals), but a growing number of villagers buy /33/ from him, especially since he is often able to offer goods unavailable in the other stores of the village. S. appears to the observer to be an as yet unformed type of modern Tongan entrepreneur.

/33 cont./

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4. Tongan M., 27 years old, born a commoner on Nomuka. Schooling on Nomuka and in college on Tongatapu; quite a good student. Taken into government service in Nuku'alofa. Weekdays wears white vala (sometimes also white shorts) and white shirt, often also sandals, and Sundays a tie, ta'o-vala and European jacket for church-going. Eats the customary Tongan-European food (but inclines more to pure Tongan); sleeps on a mat. (This simple way of life is partly due to his small monthly income.) Works in Tongan treasury and during a few free hours cultivates his planting outside Nuku'alofa. His tedious work with figures satisfies him, especially since his position in public and in the community places him on a higher, respected rung. He is very anxious to learn more and more and to work still better, and in this he struggles with his somewhat phlegmatic nature which, however, he overcomes, so that he appears industrious. M. is conscientiously religious. He has great respect for the cleanliness, the education and the competence of Europeans. Is serious and has natural dignity in all utterances and acts. Along with other Tongan so-called "intellectuals" (physicians) M. also criticizes the present political conditions of his country, wants to see Tonga still freer and more independent (for example, loosening economic ties with Great Britain). He is not married, and his very serious manner makes it difficult for him to approach the female sex. However, during the last few months he has begun to pay attention to a certain girl, but is frustrated by his fear of not being able to provide for a family with his small income in Nuku'alofa. M. spends his vacation regularly on Nomuka, since he constantly longs for his native island and his family. There he works during his vacation in the store of his step-brother or on the plantations. He has not lost his pleasure in the old Tongan way of working and living; is well liked on Nomuka and is fully appreciated and respected by the community. In his native village, M.

/33 cont./

156 organized a small group of Tongans who raise pigs and sell them, and
157 with the proceeds make it possible for young Nomukans to attend
177 college on Tongatapu; he himself makes certain financial sacrifices to help the Tongans studying in New Zealand. To our way of thinking he may be regarded as an idealist. To the observer, M. seems a representative of the good young Tongan intelligentsia. If Tonga became more European this type, though encumbered, could have an ageeable influence on the development of the small kingdom.

It is difficult to say whether such extreme types will some day become general types, whether such a fundamental change of Tongan nature will slowly be brought about. It also depends largely on further general development of Tonga; for example, to what extent the government's plans for an intensive Europeanization are realized (for example, light industry [such as fish canning factories] for the overpopulated Ha'apai group).

181 /34/ From the foregoing it will be seen that the character of the
177 Tongan today is quite similar to that of his forefathers (except for
178 the extreme types), even though it has undergone certain limited changes in the course of European influence. This native has remained essentially unchanged because European influence on the islands has not been strong enough to be able to undermine the Tongan's nature, his basic disposition so firmly rooted in him, the chief characteristic of which is a self-assured equanimity which can scarcely be shaken.

177 And this characteristic will probably also limit the future development in Tonga, and be a safeguard against a precipitous, intensive Europeanazation. For, until now, almost every European style action of an offical nature undertaken in Tonga has been slowed down, impeded or revoked.